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534 tive, somewhat rarely seen, is made of wood. Both are called *hui*. The principal use of the *hui* is for making sound-
[202] signals, such as the alarm of war, the announcement of a death, or the approach of a party bearing a pig. For such purposes there are distinctive rhythms of long and short

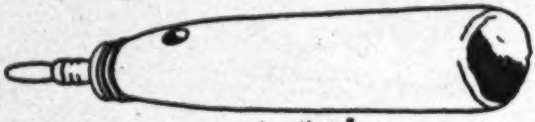

FIG. 23. *Hui* or Wooden Trumpet.

notes, though it cannot be said that they amount to any elaborate system.

An interesting extempore trumpet (*tayana*) is made from the stem of a large fern. The soft pith is hollowed out for the greater part of its length, the narrower end remaining closed. Near this closed end is placed the mouth-hole. The instrument, which is made in a few moments, is about 18 inches long with slightly trumpet-shaped mouth. It gives forth a surprisingly loud and resonant note.

Bamboo Pipes. A pipe called *biviro* is made from a long internode of light bamboo of say ¾ inch diameter. The mouth end is open, the other closed at the node, except for a small hole in the centre of the node itself, and two more, distant about 3 inches and 6 inches respectively from it. With his fingers on the stops and his mouth on the edge of the open end a player produces very sweet though very tootling music.

The 'sacred flutes' (*sepiri*, *inagu*, or *gauro*) used in the initiation ceremonies by the Southern Orokaiva, are tubes of bamboo some 4 or 5 feet in length and about 1½ inches in diameter.[1] They are closed by a node at one end. Six

[1] It may be that on the river Waria the small pipe (such as *biviro* above described) is to some extent an esoteric instrument. Describing the *Gaba* (which is apparently the seclusion-house) and its contents, Mr. C. H. Karius, A.R.M., notes a set of two flutes or bamboo pipes. The full set comprises four pipes. Two are played inside the *Gaba* and two are played outside. Never by any chance is the order reversed. The two sets of flutes or pipes are of different size and the method of playing them is different. The set used inside the *Gaba* is the larger of the two and the flutes are

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Uses of the Heratu

(*a*) *As an Identity Token.* So far I have not mentioned the uses of the plant emblem. If one asks a native what he actually does with his *heratu*, he will assuredly answer: 'I place it on the track so that others who may follow may know I have passed that way.' This, indeed, though not the only use for the *heratu*, is the commonest. At the juncture of two paths I have come upon eight different kinds of leaves or grass, placed there during the morning and as yet scarcely wilted. My boys, who were inhabitants of the district, were able to identify each clan by its *heratu*; the owners of them had passed this spot at intervals, all bound for one village as guests to a feast and dance. The stem of the leaf, the root of the grass, or the butt of the branch, should point in the direction which its owner has taken, but apparently this rule is not observed with strictness.

There is another use similar in principle. When a hungry man sees a ripe bunch of bananas in the garden of his friend he will not hesitate to help himself. It is to be feared that he would not hesitate over long if he met the same temptation in the garden of a stranger. In the first instance, however, he will eat his fill of the bananas, or whatever it may be, and leave his *heratu*. When the owner comes to his garden and sees this, he will be satisfied, for no native grudges food to his friend.

I have had occasion myself to use this simple expedient. Finding a village where we meant to lunch deserted for the time, we steal a bunch of bananas, cook them, and go on our way with invigorated and cheerful carriers. To account for this act of pillage we need only leave a stick or two of tobacco by the remains of the banana bunch, tied to a sprig of croton, which happens to be the *heratu* of a rather distinguished old native who is with me. We may then feel that we have not only made payment but given the fullest possible account of our behaviour.

In these two uses the *heratu* is an identity token, having a sort of evidential value in proving presence or agency, like a national flag left planted on the North Pole, or a visiting

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card slipped under the front door. It may be remarked that the *beratu* is never worn or carried by a man simply as a badge. It is an identity mark *in absentia*.

(*b*) *As a Mark of Individual Abstinence*. The next use for the *beratu* is a somewhat singular one. It is used by individuals as a sign of abstinence, a sort of self-inflicted tabu, whenever such abstinence has been the outcome of some quarrel or grievance. The Orokaiva is very prone when his feelings are hurt to punish himself rather than the man who has hurt them; or, perhaps better, to take revenge upon the other party by punishing himself.

Thus, if a man fall out with his wife, he will thrust a sprig of his *beratu* through his armlet, and while he continues to wear it will receive no food of her cooking. Not that he altogether starves himself into relenting; some friend will cook for him until his mood softens, and then there are interchanges of gifts between the wife's people and his own, and, as I am assured, invariable reconciliation. Similarly a wife who has been accused by her husband of sponging on him, not working for her keep, will advertise her grief and indignation by wearing her *beratu*, and will for the time being refuse to eat another taro out of his garden.

A bunch of drooping leaves may be seen tied to a coconut palm in the village. The owner has fallen out with his neighbour over the boundary of his garden. The row of tree-trunks which constitutes the usual garden border has been displaced and shows an encroaching and unwarrantable bulge. Therefore he has set up his *beratu* to indicate that he has been imposed upon, and has broken off friendly relations with his neighbour; he will accept no hospitality from him (and give none) until the matter has been adjusted. Another man nurses some resentment against a near-by village. If he were bidden to a feast there he would go, but with his *beratu* in his armlet; and when the wooden dish of savoury taro was placed before him, he would wave it aside, or lay his *beratu* upon the food to show that he could not accept the hospitality of those who had wronged him. Then the offender would be put to shame and punished, and be sorry for what he had done.

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sometimes finds a man living as a member of a clan and owning its *heratu*, but at the same time boasting a private sign for himself. We have seen a man, Euga of the Jega-Juaraha (*heratu juara*), setting up a *naterari* of *euga* wood (vide p. 119), and two members of the Pure clan distinguishing themselves by the synonymous plants of their grandparents or parents. Among the Binandele clan of Diriu is a man Taimi, who, besides the feather of the blue pigeon (*diriu*), has a *heratu* of his own, viz. *tai*, a root. No doubt the pigeon feather is not always at hand; but the root of any plant placed conspicuously on the track is enough to show his friends that Taimi has passed by.

(*c*) *Summary on the Heratu as a Badge.* It remains to say something more of the *heratu* as a badge or identity token, and lastly to discuss its bearing on the question of totemism.

Of the three main uses of the *heratu* previously described, viz. (1) as an identity token, (2) as a mark of individual abstinence, (3) as the *naterari*, or village tabu post, the last will seem tolerably clear. The *naterari* stands as a symbol of the dead man in whose behalf the tabu is imposed. Formerly it may have been something more than a formal symbol of the dead, in fact a crude image. This association between the wooden post and the dead man which it represents is strengthened by using his particular namesake tree: then, besides other associations, the two have this important bond between them—a common name.

The second use remains somewhat obscure, though it has this in common with the *naterari*, that in both the *heratu* is really a tabu sign.

The first use, however, is the fundamental one. The *heratu* is a badge; and it is a badge by virtue of the fact that it bears the same name (or nearly the same name) as the man or men it represents. We may therefore call it a synonymous badge. A man named Waiwa once explained the matter to me thus. 'You white men', he said, 'have your books. If you went to your friend's garden and took his taro, you would write your name in the book, and when he came and saw your name there he would be content, knowing that his taro had been taken by a friend. But the New

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Guinea man cannot write his name on paper so he leaves his name behind him in another fashion. I should look about me', he said, 'and find some tree with a name like "Waiwa", break off a branch of it, and leave it by the broken taro tops. Then my friend, the owner of the garden, when he saw that sign, would say "Aha, Waiwa is welcome to my taro".'

In the article referred to elsewhere in this report, viz. 'The Movements of the Tribes of the Mambare Division of Northern Papua' (Chinnery and Beaver), there is an interesting anecdote,[1] still well remembered in the region of which it is told. The Binandele, led by a man Waia, had been raiding on the river Gira, and searching for their real enemies had in error attacked the Yema tribe, killed the chief, and captured a youth Jiani. For this unhappy mistake Waia expresses his sorrow, and desires that Kewatai, the absent son of the chief, be sent on a visit to the Binandele country in order to effect reconciliation and alliance.

'Then Waia said, "My name is Waia; can you remember this name?" Jiani replied, "Yes; we call this tree (pointing to a certain tree called Warawa in Binandele) Waia." The chief then cut off a piece of the bark, and gave it to Jiani for remembrance, and told him to put it in Kewatai's house, and to tell him that he (Waia) was sorry.'

When Kewatai does visit the Binandele country, it is only by remembering the name of Waia that he saves himself from being eaten.

In such uses as these the *heratu* is something more primitive than a pictograph; it is a very material symbol, a sort of vegetable signature.

The Heratu as Totem

Throughout this chapter I have avoided the word 'totem', using in preference the non-committal, if awkward, phrase 'plant emblem'. I may now review the evidence which might have justified the use of the former term.

(1) The *heratu* is normally connected with a definite social group, viz. the clan (though sometimes with the individual and his immediate family).

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 139.

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grief, and its last moments were no doubt rendered fewer and more uncomfortable by the attentions of its relatives.

When the victim of this solicitude is finally dead, he is stretched out on his back. His face is painted and his head decorated with ornaments and a feather head-dress. Some of these will be buried with him; but his children will remove and keep the more valuable. The corpse of a man is entirely naked; that of a woman wears a *bo*.

If the deceased be a man of any importance, his body is laid out on a sloping platform (*babari*) in the village. It is made of logs set at an angle of about 20 degrees, and the corpse is laid upon it feet downwards and with arms outstretched. This *babari* is said to be meant for the convenience of the mourners who wish to embrace the corpse.

The posthumous honour of a *babari* is denied to a woman for a curious reason which I have heard several times repeated. Women are too fond of *bivije* or adulterous intercourse, and are therefore undeserving of the dignity of an elevated position. They are laid on a mat on the ground, and the only real regret for them is said to be on the part of those who have enjoyed their favours. And since these latter are ashamed to weep for fear of betraying themselves, the woman goes unwept and unhonoured to her grave. This explanation, needless to say, was derived from male informants, and, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief at a woman's death are hardly less extravagant than at a man's.

The mourners flock in from all villages in the neighbourhood, pausing on the way to smear themselves with mud, *pusu* (from which they get the name of *pusu-embo* or 'muddy men'). They desert their gardens or whatever work they have in hand at the sound of the *bui*, which repeatedly gives a very long-drawn note as a signal of death. Their attendance is not entirely obligatory, but it is regarded as a matter of decency to attend the funeral of a neighbour: and the relatives of the deceased will be offended if there is not a large muster. It is to be suspected, moreover, that the mourners derive some satisfaction from the very exuberant way they have of showing their grief, and, in the case of the

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because this will give him a measure of sacerdotal independence and enhance his reputation for power. Such men will say that the Taro travels like the wind (*bishi* or *papa*), not with the swiftness of the wind, but with its mystery and invisibility.

It is more usual, however, for the Taro man to admit freely that he has learnt from some other Taro man, though, as we shall see (pp. 34–7), he almost invariably gives an account of a strictly private inspiration as well. He learns the rules of the cult from his preceptor, but for the immanence of the spirit he has only the spirit itself to thank.

So much at present for the native theories of the manner in which the Taro is passed on. In reality the movement has spread in two ways. (*a*) The common way is for travellers or visitors to acquire the cult and return to inaugurate it in their own villagers; this is merely contact transmission. (*b*) The other way is that of active proselytism. One or two examples will illustrate these methods.

(*a*) *Contact Transmission.* A certain Home, Taro man of importance in the Aiga, or middle Opi, district, names as the originator of the cult a woman Simberi, of Gavora, near the Mambare (it will be noted that he does not mention Buninia). From her it was acquired by Seneni of the river Kumusi (an old man, by the way, in whose dour countenance are assembled all the attributes of wizardy, even to a violent squint). By Seneni the Taro was given to Home—at least the rules of the cult were imparted to him, together with the knowledge of certain medicines. (Communication with the spirits is Home's own affair.) There are three men in Home's village who have acquired the Taro from him, and he names three others, in different villages of the Aiga district, who have done the same. Thus the Taro cult passes from man to man, and one village after another becomes a fresh centre of distribution. The Orokaiva are great walkers and much given to visiting their distant relatives. It is in the course of

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such visits—which are often associated with feasts or burials, and accordingly with a good deal of excitement—that the new ideas and practices are so readily acquired.

It is noteworthy that they are passed on very frequently between relatives. We find an instance of a man visiting his wife's brother in sickness and becoming, perhaps against his expectations, a convert to the Taro; of another visiting his mother's people, and returning with the inspiration, which in due course is acquired by his brother-in-law. Examples of this nature are innumerable. It is a case of 'letting your friend in on a good thing'.

(*b*) *Proselytism*. The other method of dissemination is by the active propaganda of the Taro men. This method, although it may attract more notice, has not exerted the same steady pressure as the one above described. The minor cult of Manau (which will be dealt with at a further stage) provides an example. The leaders of it were Dasiga and Bia; a prominent disciple was Yavevi, adopted son of Bia. To extend the influence of the cult, Dasiga, with a large following, descended the coast from Manau by the Mambare mouth to the neighbourhood of Buna (a distance of some sixty miles), and there conducted 'services' in Yavevi's village, creating, one is given to understand, a startling but not very enduring impression.

So again, an interpreter in my employ named Ihipa, who was strongly imbued with the *Diroga* (a variant of the Taro cult which prevails in the southern part of the Division), set himself out in a tactful and unobtrusive way to plant the good seed in the Aiga district, where hitherto the *Diroga* was practically unknown. Almost nightly the boy-house was the scene of a *kasamba*, with its drum-beating and singing, loud, everlasting, and happily not unmusical. Ihipa would occasionally be seized with twitching and shuddering, and various of the younger singers would find themselves unaccountably following his example. Then Ihipa would explain to them that they had the *Diroga*: they were his converts.